

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 HA-05 /079 W
-----069452 271338Z /64

O 271220Z APR 78

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8434
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 1823

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, PORG, SF, WA, TZ

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: FOLLOW-UP TO SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF
CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL

REF: STATE 106180

1. WE HAVE NOT YET HAD AN OPPORTUNITY FULLY TO ASSESS TANGOV'S
REACTION TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE. HOWEVER, WE CAN QUITE
EASILY IMAGINE THAT NYERERE AND HIS FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES NOW
FIND THEMSELVES IN SOMEWHAT OF A DILEMMA. VORSTER'S ACCEPTANCE
STATEMENT PROBABLY HAS POSED A FEW NEW QUESTIONS IN THEIR
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MINDS -AND COULD PROVIDE AN EXCUSE FOR THEIR QUALIFYING THEIR
EARLIER SUPPORT. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, WE ARE INCLINED TO
THINK NYERERE AT LEAST WILL STICK TO HIS POSITION OF SUPPORT.
THE PRINIPAL QUESTION MAY INSTEAD BE JUST WHAT MORE HE, OR
ANY OF THE OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS CONCERNED (WITH THE POSSIBLE
EXCEPTION OF NETO), CAN DO ABOUT NUJOMA'S INTRANSIGENCE.
AT LEAST PART OF THE OUTCOME COULD DEPEND ON HOW THE CONTACT

GROUP NOW APPROACHES THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA.

2. DESPITE THE WELCOME DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE CG PROPOSALS, WE NEED TO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS A DISADVANTAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S HAVING AGREED BEFORE SWAPO. THE DISADVANTAGE IS WELL SET OUT IN PARA 1 OF STATE 106129; AFRICANS ARE LIKELY TO BE SUSPICIOUS OF ANYTHING AGREED TO FIRST BY SOUTH AFRICA. THE NEXT CG APPROACH TO THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA SHOULD BE SENSITIVE TO THIS PROBABLY MOOD. WE THUS BELIEVE THAT ANY PRESENTATION SHOULD NOT SIMPLY REPHRASE PREVIOUSLY USED EXHORTATIONS BUT SHOULD AIM AT RESPONDING TO ANY NEW FEARS THAT MAY HAVE ARISEN AS A RESULT OF VORSTER'S STATEMENTS.

3. SIMILARLY, IF, AS WEEMS LIKELY, AFRICAN SUSPICIONS ARE AROUSED, THIS WOULD NOT SEEM TO BE THE BEST TIME TO PUT HEAVY PRESSURE ON THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA TO BRING SWAPO AROUND. INITIATIVE ALREADY TAKEN BY FOREIGN MINISTERS OF FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA IN NEW YORK (USUN 1679) INDICATES THAT THEY ARE WELL AWARE OF WHAT THE SITUATION REQUIRES. MUCH OF THE PRESSURE ON SWAPO SHOULD TAKE CARE OF ITSELF. (IF WE NEED TO DO SOMETHING IN THIS AREA, WE MIGHT TRY TO SEE THAT NUJOMA

HEARS FULLY FROM THE FOLKS BACK HOME IN NAMIBIA.) THUS WE THINK A USEFUL CG DEMARCHE TO THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA AT THIS POINT SHOULD NOT TRY TO APPLY EXTRA PRESSURE BUT SHOULD NOTE
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THAT WE ARE NOW A STEP CLOSER TO THE GOAL WE ALL SEEK AND THAT WE URGE THEIR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR A PEACEFUL NAMIBIAN SOLUTION.

4. WE DO NOT BELIEVE NAMIBIA CAN BE DISCUSSED WITH NYERERE AT THIS STAGE WITHOUT MENTION OF WALVIS BAY. NYERERE, AND PERHAPS OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS AS WELL, WILL WANT TO KNOW WHAT SORT OF ASSURANCES CONTACT GROUP WILL HAVE FOR SWAPO. WE REALIZE DIFFICULTIES THIS ISSUE PRESENTS FOR CONTACT GROUP BUT IT SEEMS EVEN CLEARER NOW THAT IT MUST BE RESOLVED IN A WAY LEAST LIKELY TO GIVE SWAPO AND EXCUSE FOR HOLDING OUT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 1823

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

5. OUR VERSION OF APPROPRIATE TALKING POINTS WOULD BE SOMETHING LIKE THE FOLLOWING:

A) THE CONTACT GROUP HAS CAREFULLY STUDIED SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE AND HAS CONCLUDED THAT IT REQUIRES NO CHANGES IN THE PROPOSALS.

B) CERTAIN OF VORSTER'S STATEMENTS, E.G., ON THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL, THE ASSURANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA ABOUT THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, ARE, WE BELIEVE, INTENDED FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION. THEY ARE UNDERSTANDABLE IN TERMS OF THE INTERNAL POLITICAL STRUGGLE GOING ON IN THE SOUTH
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AFRICAN CABINET AND DO NOT, IN OUR VIEW, PORTEND ANY CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF THE INDEPENDENCE PROCESS. (THERE COULD BE SOME HARD QUESTIONING ABOUT THE PROPRIETY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY INVITING SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS TO STAY. CONTACT GROUP MIGHT WISH TO INCLUDE CONTINGENCY TALKING POINTS ON THIS SUBJECT ALONG SAME LINES PREVIOUSLY PUT TO SAG.)

C) WALVIS BAY. AS AGREED UPON BY NEW YORK CONTACT GROUP.

D) THERE IS ALREADY SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT IN NAMIBIA FOR THE PROPOSALS AS THEY STAND. THIS INCLUDES A STRONG ENDORSEMENT

FROM CHURCH LEADERS WHOSE CONGREGATIONS COMPRISE MORE THAN
HALF THE POPULATION (CAPE TOWN 833).

3) THE UNIQUE ROLE WHICH THE UN WILL PLAY IN THE PROCESS
ENSURES THAT THE TRANSITION WILL BE MANAGED WITH IMPARTIALITY
AND WITH FIDELITY TO THE UN'S ROLE AS TRUSTEE FOR NAMIBIA.

F) THE TIME FOR NEGOTIATION HAS ENDED. WE ARE AN IMPORTANT
STEP CLOSER TO A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT FOR NAMIBIA. THE
NEXT MOVE IS UP TO SWAPO. WE VERY MUCH HOPE FOR CONTINUED
FRONT LINE AND NIGERIAN SUPPORT, ESPECIALLY A) IN ENCOURAGING
SWAPO'S COOPERATION, AND B) IN SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION TO
MOVE AHEAD ON THE PROPOSALS, EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF A
DEFINITE RESPONSE FROM SWAPO.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INDEPENDENCE, DEMARCHE, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978DARES01823
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780180-0271
Format: TEL
From: DAR ES SALAAM
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780411/aaaaaitl.tel
Line Count: 185
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 2442bda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 106180
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2832709
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: FOLLOW-UP TO SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL
TAGS: PDEV, PORG, SF, WA, TZ
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/2442bda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014